

— Certain  
**LETTERS**  
*Written to severall*  
**PERSONS.**



Anno Dom. 1654.

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SIR,

**T**He sad and desperate condition his Majesty's sacred person is in, hath filled me with much greater anxiety and *disquietness*, then hath been usual to me since these *unhappy times*: And it is not often that I think of any thing else, but what may or ought to be done in order to the *preservation* of it, as a *Christian*, as a *Subject*: For I believe both duties are inseparably *conjoynd* in this occasion. The inquisition after this led me into the consideration of *Gods dispensation* of times and seasons: and that as those are not to be neglected, wherein there is *freedom* for our *active-duty*; so neither these, wherein there is appearance of little else remaining, save only for others to be encouraged and revived by the *passive*. (And truly I doubt not but the *divine goodness* will act for our good ends, by our *Christian readiness* for *sufferings*.) And as it is thus with *times*, so also it is with *persons*: some are rather, or more decently *qualified* for this then that, at least to give *example* and *authority* to it.

These cogitations drew from me the *considerations* herein inclosed; which I have addressed to — because I assure my self much of your *gentleness*. I have already communicated them to

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a very learned , *rèverend* and *pious* — but I will not adventure much further in it , untill I have also your sense of the *expediency* of the thing. For neither to the *reputation* of the matter , untill it be *maturely considered* of, nor to any person, would I be cause of *inconvenience*. And indeed, if it be so well encouraged by your self , and such others of like reputation, as it is by *Him*, it will become me afterward to be *silent* ( as I conceive, ) for I have a better *Heart* then a *Head* for this business. I professe I have a *jealous eye* upon the *Scots* and *Presbyterians*, who, I doubt not, would make *malicious advantages* upon any colourable defect of our *Clergy*. I shall adde this, that those of my profession are not idle , but are *confident* and *vigilant*. And truly it were a vile *shame* for us of all qualifications, if this excellent Prince should be *lost*, and we not able to *excuse* our selves , that no means was left unattempted for his *preservation*; Whom I beseech God to *comfort* and *defend*. To whose protection I also leave you, &c.

Feb. 11. 1647.

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## P O S T - S C R I P T.

I Think it gives weight and encouragement to this proceeding, both his *Majesties* late excellent *Declaration* to his Subjects ; as also the *Resolution* of the *Houses* to exhibit theirs to the people. I heartily wish this were timely fitted for this *con-juncture*.

*The Considerations inclosed.*

THE streight *durance* his *Majesties* sacred person is held under, the late *Declaration* of the Army, (with which the Commons have concurred,) to act without and against the *King*, puts it past all scruple, that the *flagitious* and *execrable* resolution of these men hath engaged them past retiring; and (which is yet worse) that they cannot but proceed to the *deepest* and *utmost* villanies and impieties.

There is not less question of *this*, then of what ought to *succeed* it; which is, that their *impudence* must be encountred with a *Christian* courage, *zeal*, and *resolution* superiour to it: otherwise 'tis a doubt not to be ilighted, that *these* men, and too many others seduced by them, will have a seeming

cause to believe themselves, that *Theologicall truths* are more *controversiall*, then those *Astronomicall* or *Astrologicall*, wherein *lines* and *Images* are only *fictioned*, to make *Schemes* for *Sciences* and *Discourse*. I am not altogether free of this *scruple*, though it looks so *stupendiously* *irreligious*.

Will not the whole frame of *Christian verity* be *shaken* (if not *subverted*,) in this *Nation*, when this so great a *truth* in it shall not be *vigorously* *averred*; That an *established Magistracy* is *Gods immediate Minister*; and ought not, cannot, with *Christian profession*, be *deposed* by those that owe *obedience* and *allegiance* to it? I am fully *perswaded* that it is so *necessary* a *truth*, that were it *tyed* to the *stake*, and the *flames* about it, even there ought we to offer our selves to *vindicate* it, and *contend* for it; or else *adieu Christian-Protestant profession*.

*The seed of the Church was Suffering*: And shall it be lost for want of *suffering*, after it is grown to such a *perfection*? The *ancient Patterns* must be *imitated*, if we expect the same *benediction* should *preserve* to us, what was so *piously* and *gloriously* planted by them. I think I mistake not my *measure*, this *errour* amongst men lyes not in the *brain* but in the *heart*: therefore *Instructions* want not, but *strenuous Examples* of *Christian Zeale*; which (I *perswade* my self) will most *distant* them. For those believe, what they want of us in *truth*, they supply in *persecution*.

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All this considered, is it not now *seasonable* (I believe it was not so *till now* ; but because the reasons are so obvious I will not trouble you with them) for a considerable number of our *learned'st, gravest, and most pious Divines* (though they exceed not the number of 20 they will be enough) in a *grave and sober manner* (for those *tart reprehensions*, of which every day there wants not store , suite not the weight of this business, being rather movings of *spleen* then *sanctity*) to present unto the *Houses* , That a *Government established is Gods immediate Minister*, and That an attempt to *depose* it is an high *impiety* against God, and his known *truth* plainly and expressly taught us in the holy *Scriptures*; That his *Majesty* is indubitably *Gods Vicegerent* over us , and that this *allegiance* we owe unto Him we have attested by the oaths of *Supremacy* and *Allegiance* ; That not any of his *Subjects* can stretch forth their hands against Him and be *guiltless* ; That they demand (according to the practice of the *holiest Christians* in all ages) a time and place to prove this great truth they now assert , by evidence out of the *Scripture* ; and if this be not allowed them , then to declare , they refuse not to seal it by *Martyrdom* ?

I do very readily acknowledge that the qualifications for so great an *engagement* ought to be *weighty and serious* ; and that to rush into *Martyrdom*,

dome, (as long as God hath left us any *justifiable humane means*) may want as much of true *Christian piety*, as it may seem of *prudence*. God hath engaged our nature to many and *severall duties and functions*, and each hath its *severall lawes and rules proper*, whereby they are so set on work, that each may attain their due and *proper ends*: nor is the *greatest means* alwayes *best*, when there are others, though *lesse*, yet *fitter*. But if I mistake not, *ventum est usque ad Triarios*: we must bring up the *Reserve*. God hath in his just judgements (upon our *Estates and Persons*) permitted all our *temporall* endeavours to be dissipated and frustrated; we may say, Our *Van* and our *Battel* are routed: but if the courage of this our *reserve* fails us not, I hope we shall rally our selves again about it, & by the divine goodness have a *faire day* of it. This will awaken all, encourage the *half-spirited*, corroborate all *honest & sincere* minds. Me thinks I have reason too on my side, when I believe it will easily fall into this sequence. All the *Clergy of England* (with very little exception) will second so *Christian an example*. Besides most *entire families* will be engaged; and scarce will there be one but will have a share in it. For to this point the *Presbyterians* will frankly concur: diverse reputed *Independents* (of whom I know some much valued by themselves) will be joyned unto you: and even in the *Army* the *Impression* of it will

will be notable. Nor can their present power prevent the expression of so universall a sense, so piously incited, and so well warranted.

Whereby will appear *their paucity*. Upon good advertisement I am assured, that they believe they have the *Hearts* of the greater number of the people, so much hath their prosperity dazzled them: But of nothing am I more certain, then that they have not the *fourtieth* man. And an expedient like this, to let both the people and them into a view one of another, I know not. And yet also would this be further prosecuted: This attestation would be sent into Scotland, and all the Protestant Churches and States of Europe (for with the others we communicate not.) And for it I know an expedient proper and of reputation.

If this progresse of it should fail, though improbably, which hath such a politick seemingness in it; yet in my opinion, it doth not at all viciate the pious part of it: the means and end being throughout truly Christian. I say, if it should fail, yet I see not that any thing we can do or suffer, can more then answer the importunity of the occasion, and the necessity that lyeth upon us as Christians to do the utmost of our duty. How long, and with how many arts and subtletyes have these men abused and deluded the people with the pretensions of their candid intentions, only to preserve the *Laws* of the Nation and the Pro-

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*testant Profession?* But now that they are possessed of so great power, with what *impudence* do they confound those, and with what *impiety* do they subvert this? But since in this case both those do so well accord, were it not best to set this last-named in the front, and to draw up the *Civil affair* to it; and though we contend for both, yet to fight under the banner of this, in some such manner as I have stated it, and by your wisdom will be disposed into the best Order?

I shall adde such a *consideration* more, that if it stood singly, yet in my opinion would justify and quit the cost of any endeavour, or indurance. That is, the unparalleled sufferings of this great Prince; to which I know nothing superiour, but his incomparable vertues. Believe me, multitudes of men are mistaken, if in the point of his temporall affairs, he had not been in a much better condition, (though I confesse not in a good one,) had he timely relaxed much of his constancy and sincerity towards the Rights, preeminencies and patrimony of the Church. Neither is our obligation but very great to Him; his sufferings being for our Lawes; so unquestionably is our prosperity mixed with his dignity. Now shall this great Personage suffer imprisonment, deprivation of Majesty, absence of all worldly comforts, and minutely hazards of life, for his magnanimous stedfastness to your and our advantages; and we not struggle for Him with  
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our utmost endeavours: *Life* were inseparable from much *infamy* with such *ingratitude*. And truly in humane reason (the utmost imployment whereof God (I doubt not) expects at our hands) I know no *guard* for his *life*, but by some means or other to make it manifest how *dear* he is to his *people*, and their readiness to testify how inseparably united *Gods truth* is with the *cause* of his *Majesty*. This onely next under God must *awe* them, *preserve Him*.

I cannot refuse to believe that this cause, as to the *Crown*, will *rise again*: because I see not a bottom or *foundation* in humane reason for this *surreptitious power* to *establish* it self in the order it seems now to point at. Though I do also very fully confesse, that *great mischiefs* are easily under their power. But if these only were *prevented*, amongst which the *safety* of this *sacred Person* is of highest importance, we had no cause to *repent* of such *pious endeavours*. And should the cause of the *Crown* (with which *Gods truth* is so firmly combin'd) resuscitate without such *Christian aides*, little were it to the *honour* of the present *clergy* and those that now serve at the *Altar*: and if *redemption* come singly some *other way*, their share could be little looked after (of which truly none is more passionately tender then *my self*) nor were the *Protestant Profession* well vindicated: which (I doubt not to say) hath received a *deep wound*

(but I hope not *mortall*) by the *unchristian* proceedings of these *vile* and *detestable* men amongst us.

This I have offered to your *candour*, *prudence* and *piety*, which truly I hold in great *reverence*; otherwise I would not thus have *exposed* my self to the *censure* of it. The *weakness* of the *advice*, at least the *unskilfull* digest of it, I shall readily *acknowledge*; but the *sincerity* and *zeal* of my heart for the cause to which it is directed, I shall never be *ashamed* of.

But after all this I shall make this conclusion; and I pray believe I am *serious* and *sincere* in it. Let me not be mistaken, that I should seem to reprove a *slackness* in those whom I think proper to take up this matter of *themselves*. Indeed I am not at all guilty of it. I doubt not but great numbers have been *long* since ready for this encounter; and perhaps disposing themselves to it, in a much *better* manner, than I have proposed. I have onely offered my *opinion*. Receive it I pray, as it is, I may affirm, in the *weakest* part of it not wanting some measure of a *pious* jealousy (as a Son of this Church) for this great *verity* taught and professed in it, and as a transport of that *duty* and *care* I have for the *safety* of this *Gracious* Prince, my *Master*. To which I shall adde, that I have had too much *experience* in this world to be ignorant of this frequent *truth* in affaires; That  
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in good men there is alwayes a *modesty* accompanying them, that oftentimes they *begin* overlate; And it is almost proper to them neither to *machinate*, nor to be overhasty to *encounter* wicked *designes*. But, if I erre not, this is that point and article of *time*, wherein *your Order* are to manifest their full *perswasion* of this *verity* in *Christian Religion*; *vindicate* it as it is *profest* by the *Church of England*; *answer* the *kindness* and *stedfastness* of the *King* to the *Clergy*; *protect* that *Life* which was our *Protection*, and is in such *imminent hazard* for it: By all which (through Gods blessing) you may lay a foundation of *reviving* both in *Church* and *State*, that which now looks so *cadaverously*.

MY LORD,

**I**T joy's me not a little, that in the late refusall of the *Lords* concurrence with the *Commons* House concerning the triall of his Majesty, you were there, and had an eminent share in it. The blood of our *Families* being mixed, it is a grief to me, I could not bear a part with you in so *virtuous* and *commendable* an action; yet a large part of contentment in it cannot be denied me.

You are (unquestionably) on *firm ground*. If you stirre an inch from it, you fall. If you keep your *station* confidently, *magnanimously*, you are *safe*, undoubtedly *safest*; if coldly and with trepidation, you are ruin'd, lost. Are the dangers great? the occasion is much greater: and the whole affair is therefore great, because greatned by hazards of the highest nature to the publick, to your particular. I have bought experience at a dear rate: but into the bargain I have no very imperfect knowledge of these men. Let them but meet a well-grounded and justifiable zeal, greater then their misguided fury, you shall render them recollected: and you have begun a conquest upon them, when they perceive an engaged resolution. Let them but see there is a generosity and incredible courage prepared to stemme the torrent of their fury, they must, they will yield way to it.

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The case of the whole Kingdome hath long been a *sad* and a *heavy* one; but now at length it is a *plain* one too. Though your *Lordships* seem at present to appear most upon the stage, the *Eclipse* of the *King* hath very sensibly obscured the *lustre* and brightnes of the *Gentry* also: And therefore it may be the easilier believed, that although the *King* at present hath very little *attendance*, and *solemnity* about his *Person*, his *Interrment* must be accompanied with the considerablest part of the *Nobility* and *Gentry*, and with the demolition of *Kingship*; and the mutation of *Monarchy* in this *Commonweale*, together with that of *Nobility* and *Gentry*, will be attended with that of the civill and sober *distinction* of all *degrees*.

It is not uneasy to be discerned (as *elated* as these men are with their *Victories*) that yet there is a kind of *hesitation*, and *stop* in their *carriere*. For now the time being come that they are to consider how they shall *retain* and *rule* what they seem to have *gained*, they begin to perceive that there is a wide difference between *making* a conquest over their fellow-citizens (of which their own unhappy differences will lay claime to the greatest share) and *governing* them contrary to their own appetites by so small a part of themselves: And that means are easilier found and readier at hand to *discompose* and *disorder* a State, then such as shall *compose* and *rule* it, especially when so  
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*differing to long-ingrafted customes and the inclinations of the people. Attack them then in this musing mood, though they do use an artificiall confidence that they act the sense of the people. 'Tis true, they are in some present awe of their power, or rather in a kind of present amazement at their boldness: An expedient must be used for the people to resume courage, and to declare their inclinations. I need scarce name who are the fittest to contrive the way, and give the onset. It can be none but your Lordships; none will begin before you, and there is none but will follow you. Make then a Declaration (by a competent number of you that are readiest at hand (for some haste must be used considering the Kings danger) the rest will speedily follow you) of your horror and detestation to such a proceeding against your anointed King and lawfull Sovereign, (your Lordships will best order it: ) Invite all the Clergy, all the Professours of the Law to make their severall subscriptions under their severall qualifications. Those in London are ready at hand, and will speedily follow you. Then the Countyes and Cityes will undoubtedly hasten their testimonyes. This occasion is so large, it incloses, comprehends all opinions: whatsoever ownes humanity, will be joyned to you. The paucity of these prodigious Regicides, Parricides, will quickly appear as Monsters not contained within the terms and limits of humane*



disclaimure of so foul a matter ; and desire their assistance, if it may be timely had, for the preservation of his sacred Majesties Life ? For if that were but in a reasonable security , you need not doubt but that the Kingdome hath more then means enough to struggle for it self and recover its ancient Lawes and Government from such a vertiginous and giddy generation ; who have the impudence to derive a title and authority for their proceedings from visions and revelations. Give but the people an honourable example they will follow you , and vindicate both you and themselves from being considered as such a silly generation , that they should suffer themselves , to be couzend out of their good, known, and established Lawes ; and in the place of them , to be imposed upon by imaginations and Dreams.

I despair not of Gods wonderfull providence over his sacred Majesties Person and Life : but that suspends not our endeavours. He expects we should work with Him by those humane means he hath left us. It grieves me , I can do nothing else but rubbe my fingers upon paper: an imployment that fits not my Genius. Per force I must do it, or nothing. And because I would not be guilty of leaving any thing undone that I can do , I have applyed my self to it , and directed it to your Lordship. To whom I wish that all the advantages that ever happened to any noble endeavour may succeed, and rest. Tower. Jan. 9. 1648. Yours, &c.

SIR,

THE conjectures of men are strangely *various* (yea of the same persons) concerning the *safety* or *danger* of the *King*, my *Master*: Some times their *hopes*, other times their *fears* prevail most. I should be much ashamed if I were the least guilty of so universall an *inquietude*, in so justifiable an occasion, and arising from so good a ground, as a *kindness* and *reverence* they owe to their *lawfull Prince*. I frankly give you leave to think (nor do I value the inconvenience it could draw a long with it,) that there is not that *honest* expedient in the world to *serve Him* by, that I would not *hazard* my self in, to imploy for *Him*: nor do I know what *earthly felicity* it is, could be so *welcom* to me, as to advance a step, beyond *any other*, in my duty toward *Him*. But my *present condition* refuseth me the *ability* of any thing else, but that of *invocating the favour of God* for *Him*; and making my addressees to you, whom I take to be the *figure* that gives the denomination to the sequence of a great many *cyphers* that follow you: And therefore I do the rather believe that a person, that *signifies so much*, will the better apprehend what weight and signification *Reason* and *Religion* have in all *humane*

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and *Christian actions* ; and that these at last will make a *Conquest* upon all those, that act without their *Commission*.

I can hardly perswade my self into (I think) the too common opinion, that the extraordinary *successes* and *felicity* that hath constantly followed your *attempts* (who as the saying is, seem to have hired fortune to serve you at day-wages) hath dazzled that light of *understanding* that formerly was usuall to you. You cannot forget the *advantages* on the *House's* part, and the *Infirmities* and *wants* on the *Kings* part at the beginning of the warre; and that the complication of many *favourable accidents* on the part of your affairs will challenge a share in the *successes* ; yet is there a large roome too left for your *merit* in *Martiall conduct* ; and you have cause enough to value your self upon a *better foundation* then the event of *Battles*, and *successes* in warre. *Proverbiall wisdom* is not the *worse*, because *easilyest learnt* ; It seldom happens that the same man is *Happy* and *Wise* together. And if that lesson also be good, That *Affliction makes men understand*, it is the *Academy* in which I have been strictly disciplin'd for 7 years; so that I must either be an *egregious Dunce*, or no ill *Counsellor* for you ; there being a Person scarce to be found, that lyeth under so dangerous a *temptation*, of *seeming prosperity*, and therefore fittest to be advised and counselled to *sobriety* and  
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*wisdom.* Of this I do assure you I do so little repine at your *prosperity*, and easy opportunityes of *fixing* your self *securely* in it, that if you do as much justify your love to the tranquility of the Nation by a discreet *uniting* the *King* and his people, as you have been instrumentall in their long *separation*. I shall prize your *prudence*, *courage*, *industry*, and *sobriety*, at as high an estimate, as the sufficientest wit can deliver it in language.

I doubt not, but both of us are easily agreed in this point, That *successes* legitimates not a quarrell, nor the power which supports it; neither are the Instruments of the calamity of a Nation thereby justified. We cannot but remember and observe, that it is no more then the filthiest and imperfectest creatures have heretofore effected; which have driven people out of their countryes; made desert, Ilands extremely fertile. Have not frogs and Locusts desolated *Empyres*? and other vermine ruined great Cittyes, and large Territories? By these means God magnifies his own power and Justice: the Instruments remain but what they were, their nature and quality not changed. But in the acts of Gods Grace and favour to those who have been instrumentall in destructive practices, there is a mutation of qualities; an ejection of those vicious, and an infusion of contrary graces; and those affects and appetites, which are necessary and

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*connaturall*, but *misguided*, are by his goodnes guided to good ends. And thus was Saul from a furious persecutor transformed to a zealous *Professour*; from a *destroyer* of the Church to a *Master-builder-up* of it. No doubt but God in both had his ends by and upon *S. Paul*: and from my soul I wish it, that your case may have a similitude with *his*; that of *him* in the *Spirituall* affair, (which was the function to which he was separated) you may be a resemblance in the *temporall*; and from a *destroyer* (by Gods goodnes) rendered a *restorer*. This in passage to those other considerations I intended to you.

That which weighs most, and lyeth heaviest upon mens hearts is, the *fear* of the *Kings Person*; that the whole Kingdome may lye under the imputation of the guilt of violence offered to it; and that a *mutation* of the form of Government shall sueceed it. If this be the end aimed at, then my present endeavour is to demonstrate to you, how humanely impossible it is to attain unto it. First there is no example (the necessary circumstances observed) that encourageth such an endeavour. For examine all the *Storyes* of all States, and you will not find so much as one instance (I pray observe how I propose it) that ever any people within the fifth degree (I might double the proportion) as we of England are, or in the same degree so spacious a territory, were ever transformed from a  
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*Monarchy, to an Aristocracy, or Democracy.* Some Cittyes and petty Principalities have sometimes suffered a change to those Forms ; and from thence have arrived (yet not without desperate, intestine seditions and vexations) to a great Puissance : The people growing up and increasing with the widening of the State, the Governing by multitudinous Councils through constant habit and practise hath not alwayes ill succeeded. But to attempt to introduce such a form (which is so vitious and brittle, and so easily carried into distemper, tumult and multitude being scarce separable) upon such a huge masse of people, as we of this Nation are, and altogether unexpected and undesirous of it, the matter it self in reason will be found manifestly repugnant to, and not susceptible of, such forms ; nor is there a pattern to be found, to give any light of direction for the managing of such a designe. Reasons may be seduced from the accidents happening this Parliament, which well weighed and pondered will afford matter more then enough to clear this question. Som-thing like an example may be produced (though rarely too) that large Monarchyes have been cantonized. But that (I think) few have any jealousy is intended.

The next considerable is, That the change from the ancient and long-established rule of Governing will demolish all the received rules of property. And if that inconvenience be, with difficulty  
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provided for; yet the people will not expect other, but that with *new Lords* they must have *new Lawes*: And more then probable it is that the people will be shaken into such an apprehension of it, that they may fall upon the *Heads* of the enterprisers. We frequently see that people are hardly reclaimed from *customs barbarous and unreasonable*; how much lesse can our Nation (the best civilized the world hath known) be withdrawn from the love of *Lawes*, so prudently constituted, and under which they have so long continued, that the very desires of the people are assimilated into the nature of their *Lawes*. The people & the *Lawes* will alwayes be alike. Are their *Lawes Monarchicall*, so will be the affections of the people? Custom is a second nature, and in many things goes beyond it.

Upon what principle, upon what authority must such a proceeding be founded? It can be no other but, that the people have the right and power to depose an established Government, erect a new form arraigne the supreme Magistrate, and execute Him. Herein is all *History* silent; and it will not only be disclaimed by all those you call *Cavaliers* and *Presbyterians*, but also by a considerable number of *Independents*: the remainder then will amount to a slender body of people. So that whereas the pretence is, that the sence of the people is acted, nothing will prove to be a grosser mistake. But this embroilment in the State, especially upon  
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this principle, will make all *Kings* parties to the quarrell: Yea all *States* that administer *Aristocratically*, will be thoroughly engaged to defend their *right of ruling*. So that there is little question but that the greatest calamity that can befall a Nation will inevitably be drawn upon us, that is, a *forrain invasion*. And *Trade* (which nature seems to have designed our Nation most properly for) will be *embarred* by all *Kings* and those *States*. Nor can it be expected that permission will be given to those of our Nation to *Trafick*, who derive themselves from a *State*, from whence they shall bring the contagion of so destructive a maxime to those rules of governing, where they expect commerce. Yea even popular *States* will abhorre so prodigious a principle and proceeding; they having been urged by necessity to use a *supreme Magistrate*, though for *time limited*, yet exempt from *question* and *triall*: whereof the ancient *State* of *Rome* gives us frequent Examples. No man sure is so mad as to search our *Chronicles* for a *president* of this nature.

The consideration of *Scotland* will have a large share in this affair: for the *Regall Rule* can receive no *diminution*, much lesse alteration here, but that it must make a notable impression on that *State*; and can have no other event but a *disunion* of the *Nations*; the union of which hath ever been so much considered and vehemently desired by all

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our prudentest Princes , and by the most fortunate Martialists of them, ( with so much fruitless losse of blood ) often attempted , yet afterward by Gods providence so happily effected , and in a most peaceable manner , to the universall contentment of all sorts in both Nations. 'Tis not possible there can be an union of Nations , where there is a dissimilitude in the nature and form of Government ; for they will perpetually strive one with another. Nor can a violence upon the person of the King but prepare a way to let Scotland into a quarrell undeniably just , and unavoidably necessary , for the losse of their Lige Lord and lawfull Sovereign , and unconsulted with. To this consideration of Scotland I'll joyn that of Ireland. 'Tis apparent that the Army will have more then their hands full ( if Scotland slept ) with the vexations and difficultyes that will arise here at home. For of the Commons house ( which you call ) the representative of the people , an right part remains not , with any countenance for the Army ; nor those neither doth the awe of the Army retain united to one sense : Take also into the reckoning those who have been expelled the House for adhering to the King in this warre , which at least will be four or five parts more : the remaining part of the Lords have disclaimed to have any share in such proceeding. So that by this Index of the Nation you may see the Spirit  
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of the whole body of it, the *Nobility, Gentry*, all persons of distinction, and all of any competent subsistence: and I am perswaded, (besides the unsuccessful triall that hath been made of some persons practised and learned in the *Laws*,) even those of your late selected *Jury* or *Judges* for the *Kings* triall, will fail the promoters of it. Indeed all things refuse them; and doubtless so will you too: when calmly and recollectedly you shall cast your eye upon so horrible a spectacle, you cannot let it long rest there. We then thus *turmoil'd* and *disquieted*, *Ireland* will be left to it self; or rather worse, a prey to a *forrain Nation*: a large Kingdom, the fertilest soile of the *Northern* parts of *Europe*, happy beyond *England* for number and conveniency of *Ports* and *Havens*: so that inevitably with it the destruction of the *Empire* of this Nation over the *Seas*, and the cessation of trade must ensue; and after it, unspeakable misery and poverty to our Nation, and eternall infamy to the causes of it.

Very considerable also is the fashion and shape of the proceeding, which (they say) is intended against his Majesty; so ugly, monstrous, and deformed, that when it appears upon the stage to act, the horreur of it will irritate the whole Nation to revenge. What? (for it is not otherwise apprehended) that a Councill of Warre of that Army, that professe to act under and by the authority

of the two Houses, should impose Rules to judge by, and Judges for those rules too, upon those whom they have professed to be their *Legislators*; and that for the triall (by their own acknowledgement) of the dignifiedst Person of the Kingdom; therefore not more then any other submittable to an arbitrary power and extra-judiciall proceeding. Who is it that after this can expect security of life, or quiet possession of any thing he hath? It is said (but who almost can believe it?) that a title is derived from Revelation and inspiration: If it were but talk, it were but ridiculous, and would be thought so simple, that it would not be condemned as guilty of malice; but to act under such a notion, were a plain confession that all other titles are insufficient. Nay if it be but mingled with any other pretensions, the pestilent quality of it would poison all the rest: and, believe it, the dropping of such expressions, by the insobriest of those that call themselves of your party, hath incredibly discredited those who are indeed well-advised. Away with it then, as that which will bring the certainest and suddenest destruction; as that which will enrage the whole Nation to a furious vindication of themselves, from being considered as such a silly generation of people, that should be couened out of their good, known, and established Lawes; and in the place of them suffer themselves to be imposed upon by imaginations

*nations and Dreams*, which every morning must be declared to be the *foregoing nights legislative power*. The people do already take themselves to be scornfully mocked, that they must be *stigmatiz'd* with the *defamation* of so *impious* an act, as a violence offered to the *life* of their *sacred* and *anointed King*; and that the act of so slight a part of their *Trustees* must redound to their *shame*; who shunning the light of *established Rules*, which would have guided them, (the *paths* they expected they should have walked in) do in this so palpably wander from their *trust*, and the sense of those who trusted them; and that so inconsiderable a *part* of them should set up a *figment of fancy* to be *idolized*. Consider the *Commons House* (if yet it may be so called) allow (which cannot be refused) the *Knights* to be the *Representatives* of the *Shires*, which truly is the main of the *people*, you shall not find *Knights* for the *tenth County* in *England*, I am perswaded, not a farre smaller proportion: Is it then possible that men shall believe against *sense* and *evident demonstration*, that the *people* incline to you; nay that they are not *diametrically opposite* and bent against you? We read that *God*, as an expression of his *gracious favour* to his *Church*, hath promised, that *Kings* and *Queens* shall be *nursing Fathers* and *Mothers* of his *Church*; But that his *Church* should set up new forms, or any forms

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of triall, to execute their own *Kings* and *Queens*, is monstrous and unknown to Religion, is lesse then an idle dream, 'tis the fiction of a dream, and so it will be esteemed not deducible out of the sacred Scriptures; defamatory to the Christian profession, and the nearest way to introduce *Paganisme* or *Mahumetanisme*, their Prophet practising such delusions. So that hereby as *Christians* is all *Europe* engaged, as *Protestants* all of our beliefe either in this or other *Nations*.

The last consideration that impedes the mutation of the *Government* is the person of the *King*: which we find doth unavoidably mixe it self with all the former considerations; so that the discourse of the one, will not be without the aide of the other. Yet this following hath somewhat more in it. 'Tis *This King*, such a *King*, so conspicuously vertuous and sufficient; therefore (it must be acknowledged) that hath a right apprehension and clear vision of the true Interest of *Kingship*, which is the peace and prosperity of his people; A *Prince* of undaunted resolution and clear courage, therefore not vindicative, and farre above base revenges. Example me, in any one person, of any vindication, or disrepect, or injury, that the *King* can be charged with.

Ile give you many instances of his placability and readines to be reconciled (let me in a short parenthesis give you this advertisement; Revenge is  
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to be doubted from the *people* , not from the *King* ; He alone must be, can be , your security ; upon such a *Prince* you may rely : ) A *Prince* of exemplary devotion and sobriety , therefore dear to all persons so qualified. 'Tis *This King* , during whose happy dayes , ( no lesse then 17. years , ) in which he quietly possess'd and ruled the *Sceptre* , such an inward tranquillity was joyn'd to such a security from without , and both accompanied with such an opulency , that no period of like time, with the like felicity , have the former ages delivered over to us. And it is no impertinent question to ask , whether ever any other *Nation* ever enjoyed the like. I am perswaded ( and that upon no ill grounds of conjecture , ) were it in the power of the *Nation* to elect out of the *Catalogue* of all their *Kings* , the Spirit of which of them they would have rest upon this ; if they wished *Him* the fortune of *Henry* the V. yet they would not refuse his own *vertues* , for the most signall of any of the former. So notable an impression doth the memory of the peaceable part of his *Reigne* make upon the affections of his people : And such an horror and aversion hath the disquiet thereof wrought in them to any other form of rule , that they look upon their tormentours as *Salamanders* , that only live and are cherished by the flames , that have scorched them. Is it not now high time then to stop and make a halt :

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Is there not enough done to satiate the *vanity* and quench the *thirst* after military *renown*, when you have vanquished your *Compatriots* and fellow *Citizens*, and under such a *Prince* ?

Look upon the *brink* of what a dreadful precipice you are; and let this last, and those other considerations be *seriously* revolv'd by you : to which being added those weights which your own judgement can cast into the *scales*, undoubtedly you will see that there is a *wide* distance between making a conquest over a people, (of which their own differences will lay claim to the greatest share,) and governing them contrary to their own *appetites* by so small a part of themselves ; and that means are *easily* found and *readier* at hand to *desolate* and *disorder* States, then such as shall *compose* and *rule* them, various to long ingrafted customs, and their own inclinations. *Invisa Imperia nunquam retinentur diu.* Hated rule is never long-lived. Me thinks you cannot well avoid the observation that the most *perspicacious* and *sagacious* persons of your party, who with a wonderful *steadfastness* and *undismayedness* have kept company with you in your *counsels* and *affairs*, and in the greatest hazards (for you have not alwayes been without such,) do herein, and in this *action*, and in this highest time of your *power* and *prosperity*, not only make a stop, but avowedly withdraw themselves, and declare

declare *against* it ; no doubt but very evidently foreseeing the *fatality* of such an *enormous* and *unparalleld* attempt. But the *imagination* that some have , that this *designe* will be carried on by dispatching the *King* out of the way, excluding the *Prince* and *Duke of York* (both now out of the realm) and setting up the *Duke of Gloucester*, untill the people are better *seasoned* by this *new fashion* of *Government*, is such a *mockery*, that it cannot be believed but the most *purblind understanding* will see all the *shapes* of the *designe*, when it stands but behind so *slender a thred*. This will not do the feat; nor will the *people* of this *age* be so deluded: wherein there are but *too many* (for the publick peace,) that understand *Arts* and *policyes* of *State*, or, at least, would have it so thought.

Upon the prospect of these foregoing considerations , (and there want not others important) draw a short state of the whole affair ; and it will be thus, or little otherwise. At the present, you of the *Army* stand *high*; but *naked, unloved*; the bulk of the *people* that assist you, *small* ; they are, to speak of, all in one *cluster*, the *Army* ; and that not all *ripe* for such *designes* : through the *Kingdome* they are so *thinly diffeminated* , that the appearance of them by the eye is scarcely *discernable* ; and lastly, to deal frankly with you, (because their temper in your affair will make a notable impression,) for the greater number a

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*vertiginous and giddy generation*, that will never suffer quiet to themselves, you, nor others. The opposites to these are the most prudent-constituted form of Rules the World hath known; a vast number of people wedded to it; the matter therefore irreconcilable; no example friendly to you; all Potentates made parties against you; the certain disunion of Scotland with England; the damage and infamy for the losse of Ireland; the defamation of Christian Religion, more especially of the Protestant Professours; and lastly the person of a most Excellent Prince, loved, revered, and desired by the generality of his people. Besides all these, and others that are obvious to the commonest understandings; trust me, no mortall man can have a prevision of the future vexations which such a Regicide, such a Parricide will bring to the persons, affairs and designments of the Army; if a prognostick may be made by the rules of Reason, by the constant course of humane actions, by the conjunction of the present affairs of this Kingdome. It is the certain expectation of all sober men, that Jacob followed not Esau closer by the heel, then the Armys destruction will that of such an inhumane act of violence upon the sacred Person of this King. What then, in the name of God, is it that hinders you, answerable to reason, suitable to duty, and agreeable to piety, from making hast to joyn your self to the Law, and to agnize that Prince, whom

whom the lawes and ordinance of *God* have set over you ? Obey then the *municipall Law* under which you were *born*, that hath *nourished* and *cherished* you ; *restore* it , *promote* it all you can , reverence that *Prince* , into whose custody *God* hath committed both the *Lawes* and *your self* ; who, I doubt not, will find it most conveniency to imploy *your self*, and the *sobereft* of your party, in the eminentest administrations under Him : And verily I wish it. Nor do I think it in any degree reprehensible for you, or any other to observe the *Physicians rule*, *Accipe dum dolet* ; take this opportunity of the present *anguish* of the *King* and *Kingdome* ; *restore* it to its former habit of *quiet* and *peace*. There is none that will *grudge* you such *sober commodity*, as may arrive to you by it. But with such manner of discourses I will not detain you , least I should thereby mis-lead you into a false opinion of *me*. My *principles*, according to the temper of these times, are very remote from *self-safety* ; or to imploy *ungenerous flatteryes* for it. Know this assuredly, that I firmly believe, that an established *Magistracy* is *Gods* immediate *Minister* , nor can it be *deposed* by those that owe obedience and *subjection* to it , without the highest guilt of *impiety*, And that this is a verity so plainly held forth to us by the *sacred Scriptures* , (as an ordinance imployed by *God*, for the manifestation of his *power* and *goodness* in the conservation

of humane communion and society,) that the conscientious sufferers for it may expect a Crown of Martyrdome by it. That this Government is a Monarchy, and his Majesty the right and lawfull King, hath not a colourable objection to gainsay it. Read the Act of recognition i *Iacobi* calmly done by the whole Parliament, and unanimously pursued by the whole Nation, at a season and opportunity that might have encouraged pretences, if any could have been found. How happens it that the lawfullness of Regall rule is questioned? Search the Scriptures: God it is that owns their Charter; He it is that gave it them: *Per me Reges regnant*, (Prov. 8.15.) not *per nos*: 'tis no plurality they hold by. Where *Salomon* speaks in the person of the eternall Wisdom, thereby to advertise us of (no doubt) greater reverence and circumspection. God himself appoints *Moses* the first Prince of the politick State of the *Jews*; after him *Ioshua*, &c. Is it the title and hereditary succession of Kings you look for? See then, God himself chuseth *Saul*; afterwards guides the lot; lastly, follows the publication and acknowledgement of the people. Afterward God rejects that Dynasty, and by especiall command fixeth *David*; whom, by like appointment, *Salomon* succeeds: and from him continued that family in the rule, in the eldest son of that Family. Yet is the person so sacred, so delicate, that no violent hand must come  
near

near to approach it. Wherein are the Scriptures more plain and expresse then in this particular, *Touch not mine Anointed? David*, before he was a King, and persecuted by a King, *who can* (saith he) *stretch forth his hand against the Lords Anointed, and be guiltless?* 1. Sam. 24. 5. 6. Multitude of texts there are that both justify the dignity, and enjoin reverence to the person. And conformably it hath been the avowed doctrine and practise of the Church in all ages, even under *Heathen Princes*. 'Tis an argument too copious for a paper, to contain the reasons and instances for it; rather indeed it is too manifest to be disputed. Hath not God coupled the fear due to *Himself*, with the duty of reverence toward the King? Prov. 24. 21, 22. *My Son, Fear thou the Lord and the King* (in conjunction:) *meddle not with them that are given to change*. Mixe not with such machinators: for a like end shall be to the offendours against both, *Destruction*.

Sir, my conclusion shall be very plain, because you may thereby be the better assured of my sincerity in all the rest. The ancient constitutions and present Lawes of this Kingdome are my inheritance and Birth-right: if any shall think to impose upon me that which is worse then death, which is the profane and dastardly parting from these Lawes, I will chuse the lesse evill, which is Death. I have also a right in *Kingship*, the Pro-

rectour of those Lawes ; *This* is also, by a necessity and conjunction with that other , *dearer* to me then *life*. And lastly, in *This King* is my present right ; and also obligations of *inestimable favours* received from him. I would to God *my life* could be a sacrifice to preserve *his*. Could you make it an expedient to serve *that end* , truly I would pay you more *thanks* for it , then you will allow your self for all your other *merits*, from those you have most obliged, and dye

*Your most affectionate Friend.*

POST.

## P O S T - S C R I P T .

S I R ,

**I** Adde this *Post-script*. When with the most unheard-of and highest violation of all Lawes humane and divine, of Morality and Sanctity, both upon the person of the King and municipall Lawes of the Kingdome so execrable an Act is perpetrated, let the profit of it to the Actours be summed up, it amounts to nothing more then this, That a King is escaped out of their present possession, but the succeeding King obliged by all the tyes of Religion, Nature, Duty, and Honour, encouraged with all the irritations of this Nation, Scotland, and Ireland, fortified by the Interests of all Christian Princes and States to animate and aide him, for his revenge upon the Actours. I am not guilty of so implacable and inveterate malice, as to wish that the contrivers of this villany might pursue a counsell that shall draw such sharp revenges and infallible destruction upon themselves: But truly I think that those who have been, or are their veryest Friends, and who have any light of understanding or motions of conscience, will never forgive them so outrageous

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a folly, madness, and wickedness. I must confesse the present proceedings torment me with terrible apprehensions: but truly I cannot make my self believe, that God will permit the Devil to draw Christian Protestant Professours unto the consummation of so detestable and impious a Fact. God of his infinite mercy prevent it.

*Enclosed in a Letter, thus.*

*Sir,*

**T**His short Letter hath no other errand, but to excuse that longer which is inclosed. I pray read it over, though it comes from a person that is not proper to apply himself to you, and using an instrument (a *penne*) not suitable to my *Genius*. But believe it, 'tis the extremity of this present occasion extorts it from me. God guide you, and recall you, if you are engaged in this horrid proceeding. I rest,

*SIR,*

*Your humble Servant*

*Tower, Jan. 15. 1648.*

*A Letter written to his LADY the day  
before his suffering.*

My dearest Life,

**M**Y greatest care in relation to the *World* is for thy *dear self*: But I beseech thee that as thou hast never *refused* my *advice* hitherto, do thou now *consummate* all in this one. And indeed it is so important both for *Thee*, *Me*, and all our *Children*, that I presume *passion* shall not overrule thy *reason*, nor my *request*. I beseech Thee again and again, *moderate* thy apprehension and *sorrows* for me; and *preserve thy self* to the benefit of our dear *Children*, whom God, out of his love to us in *Christ Iesus*, hath given us: And our dear *Mall* (in the case she is in,) and our comforts in that *Family* depend entirely upon thy *preservation*. I pray remember that the *occasion* of my *Death* will give Thee more cause to celebrate my *memory* with *praise*, rather than to consider it with *sadness*. God hath commanded my *obedience* to the *fifth commandment*; and for acting that *duty* I am *condemned*. God multiply all *comforts* to thee. I shall leave Thee my *dear Children*: In them I live with Thee; and leave Thee to the *protection* of a most gracious God. And I rest

*Thy, &c.*

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*Ano-*

*Another written the same day He  
suffered.*

*My dearest Life,*

**M***Y eternall life is in Christ Iesus. My worldly  
considerations in the highest degree Thou  
hast deserved. Let me live long here in thy dear  
memory, to the comfort of my Family, our dear  
Children, whom God out of mercy in Christ hath  
bestowed upon us. I beseech Thee, take care of  
thy health. Sorrow not unsoberly, unusefully. God be  
unto Thee better then an Husband; and to my  
Children better then a Father. I am sure, He is able  
to be so; I am confident He is graciously pleased  
to be so. God be with Thee, my most vertuous  
Wife; God multiply many comforts to Thee and  
my Children, is the fervent prayer of*

*Thy, &c.*

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*A Letter to Mr. E. S. from a reverend  
and grave Divine.*

SIR,

I Hope this paper will find you upon your recovery. You have my dayly and hearty prayers for it, not so much for your *own sake* (for I doubt not but it would be much better for you, in regard of your *self*, to be dissolved and be with Christ) but in the behalf of the Church, your friends, and poor Family : to which notwithstanding be assured, God will be mercifull, howsoever he disposeth of you, either for *this life*, or for a better. But if you live (as I pray and hope you will) you shall do very well to write the life and death of that Noble Lord and Blessed Martyr, who professed at his death, *that he dyed for the fifth Commandement*: & to dye in the defence, & for the testimony of any Divine truth, is truly and properly to be a Martyr.

That which I can contribute towards this work is, to communicate some few observations I made of him and from him, before and after his *Condemnation*. I was severall times with him, and alwayes found him in a very chearfull and well-composed temper of mind, proceeding from true Christian grounds, and not from a Roman resolution only, (as his enemyes are pleased to speak

of him.) He told me often, It was the good God he served, and the good Cause he had served for, that made him not to fear death: adding, he had never had the temptation of so much as a thought, to check him for his engagement in this quarrell: for he took it for his Crown and Glory; and wished he had a greater ability, and better fortune to engage in it.

After his Condemnation, and the afternoon before his suffering, we were a great while in private together: when, bewailing with that sense which became a true (and not despairing) penitent, the sins of his life past; the greatest he could remember was his voting my Lord of Straffords death: which though (as he said) he did without any malice at all, yet he confessed it to be a very great Sin; and that he had done it out of a base fear (they were his own words) of a prevailing party: adding, that he had very often and very heartily repented of it, and was confident of Gods Pardon for it. Then he told me, he had a great desire to receive the Blessed Sacrament (so he called it) before he dyed the next morning: asking what Divine of the Kings party I would recommend to him. I replied, that (though many were more worthy, yet) none would be more willing to do him that service then my self. Which he accepting very kindly, told me he durst not desire it, for fear it might be some danger to me. After this,  
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and some conference in order to his *preparation*, both for his *viaticum* and his *voyage*, the *Sacrament* and his *death*; he desired me to *pray* with him. Which after I had performed, and promised to be with him by seven the next morning, I left him for that time to his *own devotions*.

The next day I was there at the time assigned: and after some short conference in order to the present occasion, he desired me to hear him *pray*: which he did for half an hour in an *excellent method*, very apt *expressions*, and most *strong, hearty, and passionate affections*: First *confessing* and *bewailing* his *sins* with *strong Cryes* and *Tears*; then *humbly* and most *earnestly desiring* Gods *Mercy* through the *merits* of *Christ only*. Secondly, for his dear *Wife* and *Children*, with some *passion*; but for her *especially*, with most *ardent affections*: recommending them to the *Divine providence* with great *confidence* and *assurance*; and *desiring* for them rather the  *blessings of a better life*, then of *this*. Thirdly, for the *King, Church, and State*; and lastly, for his *enemies*, with almost the same *ardour* and *affection*. After this sending for my Lord of *Norwich* and *St. Iohn Owen*, I read the whole *Office* of the *Church* for *good Friday*: and then, after a short *Homily* I used for the present occasion, we received the *Sacrament*. In which action he behaved himself with great *humility, zeal, and devotion*. And being demanded after we

had done, how he found himself; he replied, very much better, stronger, and chearfuller for that heavenly repast; and that he doubted not to walk like a Christian through the vale of death, in the strength of it. But he was to have an agony before his passion, and that was the parting with his Wife, eldest Son, Son in Law, two of his Uncles, and Sr. T: C: especially the parting with his most dear Lady; which indeed was the saddest Spectacle that ever I beheld. In which occasion he could not chuse but confesse a little of humane frailty; yet even then he did not forget both to Comfort and Counsell her, and the rest of his friends. Particularly, in blessing the Young Lord, he commanded him never to revenge his death, though it should be in his power: the like he said unto his Lady. He told his Son he would leave him a Legacy out of Davids Psalmes, and that was this, Lord, lead me in a plain path. For, Boy, (said he) I would have you a plain honest man, and hate dissimulation.

After this, with much ado I perswaded his Wife, and the rest to be gone; and then being all alone with me, he said, Doctour, the hardest part of my work in this world is now past, meaning the parting with his Wife. Then he desired me to pray preparatively to his death, that in the last action he might so behave himself, as might be most for Gods Glory, for the endearing of his Dead Masters memory, his present Masters  
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service ; and that he might avoid the *doing* or *saying* of any thing which might savour either of *vanity* , or *sullenness*. This being done , they were all carried to Sir Robert Cottons House ; where I was with him , till he was called unto the *Scaffold* , and would have gone up with him , but the Guard of *Souldiers* would not suffer me.

*Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his Saints.* Psalm 116.15.

*The righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance : He shall not be afraid of any evill tidings ; His heart is fixed , trusting in the Lord.* Psalm 112.6.7.

*Rejoyce ye in that day , and leap for joy ; for behold your reward is great in Heaven , for in the like manner did their Fathers to the Prophets.* Luke 6.23.

*I saw under the Altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God , and for the Testimony which they held. And they cryed with a loud voyce , saying , How long O Lord , Holy and True , dost thou not avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth ? And white robes were given unto every one of them . and it was said unto them , that they should rest yet for a little season ,*

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untill their fellow-Servants also , and their Brethren,  
that should be killed as they were , should be fulfilled.  
Revel. 6.9,10,11.

They overcame Him by the bloud of the Lamb and  
by the word of their Testimony , and they loved not their  
lives unto the death. Revel. 12.11.

I heard a voice from Heaven, saying unto me, Write,  
blessed are the dead which dye in the Lord, from hence-  
forth, yea, saith the Spirit , that they may rest from their  
labours; and their works do follow them. Revel. 14.13.

F I N I S.

